

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

Def. Doc. No. 1283

CHUNG KAI-SHENG STATEMENT

(19 July, 1937)

I

The sudden outbreak of the Marco Polo Incident, at a time when China was carrying out her fundamental policy of maintaining international peace and national unity, has plunged the whole nation into a state of deep indignation and has given an ominous impression to the whole world. The consequences of this incident have seriously threatened the very existence of China as well as the peace of East Asia. At this moment of emergency, I wish to clarify our position in response to various questions put forth to me.

The Chinese have always been a peace-loving people. The policy of the National Government is maintenance of national unity in domestic affairs and the mutual respect and co-existence with other Powers in foreign relations. The aforementioned policy is clearly enunciated in the Declaration of the Third National Assembly of February this year. The irrefutable facts during the past two years testifies beyond doubt that the national Government has tried to adjust its relationship with Japan and has always resorted to universally recognized channel of diplomatic negotiation for the settlement of all disputes pending between the two Governments.

The Chinese people must first of all understand the

position of their country. We must be aware of the situation we are in. We must frankly estimate our strength as the people of a weak nation. During the serious national crises of the past few years we have made great efforts to secure peace, in spite of unendurable sufferings, hoping thereby to revive the Chinese people. It was for this reason, that in reporting on diplomatic affairs at the Fifth General Assembly held a year before last that I stated: "We will never give up peace so long as there is hope left for its maintenance. We will not speak of the sacrifices until we have exhausted our patience." Our earnest desire for the maintenance of peace is further clarified in a statement I made later at the Central Executive Council. While admitting our weakness as a nation, we firmly believe in one thing we must do in case of extreme emergency and that is, to fight with all our strength for the existence of our country. And once we fight, we should not by any means seek half-way peace because of time or situation. If we seek peace in midst of war, we shall be forced to accept terms which will mean enslavement of our country and complete annihilation of our race. I desire that the Chinese people will be fully aware of the 'limit of their patience' and the extent of sacrifice expected to be made when that limit is exceeded. Once we reach that stage, we must fight it out at all costs in hopes of our final victory. If we hesitate and give way to momentary ease, we must perish for ever.

II

Some people may suppose that the Marco Polo Incident was an unexpected and unmeditated occurrence. However, gathering from the newspaper reports of Japan and direct as well as indirect statements made by the Japanese diplomatic agencies, it had been apparent from a month before, that some sort of an incident was going to take place. Moreover, just before and after the incident I received informations stating that the Japanese were planning: to extend the Tangku agreement; to extend the unrecognized Hobei-Chohar Government; to drive out the 29th Army and Sung Teyun; in short, to force upon us various demands of this sort. Therefore, it is clear that the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was not a mere accident. From this incident, we can see that the Japanese have assumed a firm attitude toward us and therefore, peace is going to be very difficult to maintain. According to informations gathered on our part, it is without doubt that the only way in which we could have prevented the outbreak of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was to suffer the foreign forces to enter our territory and let them behave as they pleased, and furthermore to limit the activities of our own forces. From another viewpoint, it meant allowing the Japanese forces to fire upon us and to abstain on our part from returning the fire. No self-respecting nation in the world would have been able to stand such a humiliation. Six years

Def. Doc. No. 1285

have elapsed since we lost the four north-eastern provinces, then Tangku Agreement followed, and now the point at issue of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident has reached the city of Peking. If we approve to let the enemy occupy the Marco Polo Bridge by force, then the 400 year old capital of our country and the political and strategic center of North China will fall into the hands of the enemy. And what happened to Lukdon and the four north-eastern provinces in the past will probably happen again to Peking and the provinces of Hopei and Chahar. Moreover, if Peking is to become the second Lukdon, how can we prevent Nanking from becoming a second Peking? Therefore, the destiny of the whole nation now depends upon the security of the Marco Polo Bridge. And the prospect of peaceful settlement of the incident will be determined by the "limit of our patience." In case we reach a point where the worst situation is unavoidable we must fight with firm determination even at the greatest cost. This war can be said to be forced upon us from outside. We do not seek war. However, we were compelled to fight back the attacks threatening our existence.

I wish the whole country understand that the Central Government is now busily engaged in preparing for national defense. Although a weak nation, we cannot fail to take means to secure the existence of our people and the integrity of our country. It is our duty to exhaust all possible efforts to keep intact what we have inherited from our forefathers. Here again,

we must fully understand that once we fight, we must never hesitate and fight it out to the very end. If we lose further, even a small piece of our beloved land, we shall be responsible for a serious crime unforgivable against our own race. At such a critical moment, I repeat, the only alternative is to resist the enemy with all our might and look forward to final victory.

III

At this serious moment, Japan is placed in the position to decide whether the Marco Polo Bridge Incident will be so fatal as to expand into large-scale armed hostilities between the two nations. It all depends on future actions of the Japanese forces, whether we may yet be hopeful of peaceful solution between Japan and China. We shall endeavor to settle the matter through channels of diplomatic agents as before until all hope for peace is abandoned. Our course of action to be pursued in this incident may be summarized in the following four points.

- A) No proposal for solution, which infringes China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, shall be admitted.
- B) The Central Government reserves the right to decide the status of the Hopei-Chahar Political Committee, and no illegal change shall be admitted.
- C) We cannot assent to the dismissal of any local officials appointed by the Central Government such as the Chief of the Hopei-Chahar Political Committee through outside pressure.

Def. Doc. No. 1283

D) We cannot accept any restriction to the area in which the 29th Route Army is stationed at present.

However, nevertheless we may say, the above-mentioned four points are the minimum possible terms for an independent state to accept as the basis of a negotiation.

If Japan should be placed in our situation, and moreover, if she is really anxious to maintain peace in East Asia so as to avoid steps to draw both nations into the vortex of war, Japan would surely admit that the foregoing four terms are the minimum possible to be taken into consideration. In brief, the Central Government, in face of the crisis of this Marco Polo Bridge incident, is firmly adhering to the precise and decisive standpoint to insure the existence of China. China is an independent state. We are desirous of peace but have not the intention to cling to peace at any cost. We do not want war but it can not be denied that we may be obliged to defend ourselves. In face of this urgent crisis, the government is going to direct the people with serenity and prudence. The people, as well, should keep perfect order with serious attitude. In order to fulfil the duty imposed upon our race, I wish that the people would follow the directions of the Government, keeping control solid as iron, without distinction of place or age, and uniting ourselves in a body.

Def. Doc. No. 1283

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, Hayashi, Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief, Archives Section, Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 6 pages and entitled "Chang Kai-shek, Statement (19 July 1937)" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 3 day of April, 1947.

Hayashi, Kaoru
Signature of Official

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,
on this same date.

Witness: Urabe, Atsuna (seal)

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, Kenjiro Akune of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

Tokyo, Japan
Date 15 April 1947

Kenjiro Akune

7

蔣介石聲明（昭和十二年七月十九日）

一 中國が對外平和並ニ國內統一維持ノ根本政策ヲ遂行シツツアル時、突
如斯種禍事發生シ全國民ヲシテ深刻ナ憤激ノ狀態ニ投込ミ全世界ニ
一大危機ノ念ヲ興ヘツツアル此ノ事件ノ解決スヘキ諸結果ハ中國ノ存在
自存ト東亞平和トヲ脅成スルニ至ツタ、此ノ重大時期ニ際シ幾多ノ憤
悶四會ニ答ヘ予ハ次ノ如ク述べ度イ。

中國民族ハ終始和平ヲ愛好ニ國民政府ハ國內政策デハ常ニ國內統一ノ
維持ヲ目標トシ且對外關係デハ他ノ諸國トノ相互尊重並ニ非暴ヲ目標
トシテキル

本年二月三中全会ノ宣言書カ以上ノ警告ヲ明確ニ表明シテ凡ル過去二
ヶ年間ノ間日ナ事實カ證明スル通り國民政府ハ其ノ日本ニ對スル政策
デ一切ノ要求ヲ撤回シ且一歩ニ引退サレタ外交交渉ノ方法ニ至ヘ以テ
公平ナル解決ノ途徑ヲ常ニ期待シタ。

我國民ハ我等國家ノ地位立揚ヲ了解シナケレハナラヌ又我々ハ我々自
身ノ立場ヲ認識シナケレハナラヌ爾等國家ノ人民トシテ我々ハ我々自

身ノ力量ノ程度ヲ正當ニ評價セネハナラヌ過去數年間重大ナ諸難
 難ニ當面耐エ難キ苦痛ヲ忍ビ乍ラモ我々ハ隱忍自重而目ヲ傾注シテ
 和平ノ確保ニ努力シ依テ以テ民族ノ復興ヲ實現センコトヲ期シタ
 ノ故ニ一昨年ノ五全大會ニ於ケル外交報告ニ當ツテ予ハ「和平ノ維
 持力完全ニ絶望ナラサル限り我々ハ決シテ和平ヲ棄テナイ我々カ自
 創隱忍ノ極限ニ對シナイ限り輕々シク犧牲ヲ談シナイデアラウ」ト
 述ベタカ其ノ後ノ中央執行委員會ニ於ケル聲明ニ徴シテモ我々ノ和
 平堅持ニ對スル熱意カ明瞭デアラウ假令弱國タリトハ言ヘ若シ不
 ニシテ最後ノ陣頭ニ立テ致レハ我々ノ爲スヘキコトハ唯一即チ我ガ
 全國民精力ノ最後ノ一瀉迄モ傾倒シ國家存立ノ爲抗爭スヘキノミタ
 而シテ一度右抗爭カ開始サルレハ時間ノ上カラモ情勢ノ上カラモ中
 道ニシテ止ミ和平ヲ求メルコトハ許サレナイ、一旦紛争ノ始マツタ
 後和平ヲ求メレハ我國家ノ屈從、我民族ノ全滅ヲ意味スル條件ヲ甘
 受セネハナラナイ願クハ全國民ハ「隱忍ノ限度」並ニ右限度ヲ越エ
 タ後起サレル犧牲ノ範圍ヲ充分認識サレ度イ一度降参ニ到達スレ

ハ我々ハ常ニ究極ノ勝利ヲ期待シツツ如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂フトモ最後
迄戦ヒ抜カネハナラヌサリ乍ラ我々カ躊躇シ徒ニ一時ノ偷安ヲ貢ル
ナラハ我々ハ永久ニ没亡シ去ル外ハナイ

ニ世上京ハ腐敗腐敗ノ件カ何等モ計置サレヌ突發的變遷ト想像スル者
カアルカモ知レナイ然シ乍ラ既ニ一ケ月前カラ相手方ノ新聞並ニ直
接間接ノ外交通ニ對シ何等カノ事件カ持チ上ルタラウトノ
徵候カ窺サレタ、且ニ事件初發ノ前後ヲ觀シ各方西カラ相手方カ

協定ノ強固ヲ企圖シツツアルトカ東京當局ヲ増大シヤウトカ知
3

二十九日ヲ以テ進シヤウトカ宋官元ヲ追出サウトカ其ノ他同黨ノ諸々
ノ要求ヲ行ケヤウトシテキルトノ報道ヲ接受シタ、以上ニ對スレ
ハ官報編輯件ノ動靜カ偶然事件テナイコトハ直ニ明瞭デアラウ、此
ノ事件ヨリシテ相手方我々ニ對シテ如何メテ突然タル態度ヲ包藏シテ
居リ從ツテ和平ハ容易ニ維持シ難キコトヲ言ラネハナラヌ、我々ノ
情勢ニ依レハ腐敗腐敗ノ件ノ回避シテヘカリシ唯一ノ方針ハ外國軍
力我領土内ニ侵入シ且自由無制限ニ進行邁歩スルヲ甘受シテ而モ中

國軍隊ハ其移動ニ付多ノ制限ヲ受ルコトヲ容認スルノ外ハナカラ
 ウ、又其ハ相手方カ我兵ニ容認スルヲ容認シ而モ應射出來ヌト言フ
 コト以外ニハ其ノ方法ハナカツタデアラウモ自尊心アル以上世界
 中如何ナル觀察ト雖以上ノ如キ屈辱ヲ甘受スルコトヲ望ヤウカ、東
 北四省ヲ喪失シテ以來六ヶ年次イテ坤布協定アリ次イテ今年
 滿ハ盧溝橋事件ニ於テ方ニ北平ノ城内ニ到達シタ若シ自衛力武力
 ニ依ツテ占領サレルヲ容認スルナラハ中國四百年ノ故都ニ北方ノ政
 治的、經濟的中心ハ喪失ハレルノデアル、今日ノ北平ハ僅二ノ奉
 天トナリ河北、察哈爾兩省ハ東北四省ト同一ノ運命ニ陥ルデアラウ
 第一北平カ第二ノ奉天トナルナラハ自東京カ第二ノ北平トナルヲ如何
 ニシテ阻止スルコトカ出来ヤウ知カル故ニ盧溝橋ヲ阻スルカ否カ
 ハスル民存亡ノ懸ル所ニ外ナラス、今回ノ事件カ果シテ平和解決カ
 出来ルカ否カハ我等ノ所識「應忍自重ノ限」ニ至スル間ニ外ナラ
 ス、若シ盧溝橋ノ事件ヲ避ケルコトカ出来段階ニ到達スルナラハ我々
 ハ應然抵抗スル外ハナク且最後ノ犧牲ヲモ敢テ辭セナイモノデアル

此ノ我々ノ抗爭コソハ外ニミリスルニ
我々ハ戰争ヲ求ムルモノニアラス、唯我々ノ生存ヲ脅スル
懸念スルモノニ外ナライ

全國民ハ中央政府カ目下所行手帳準備ノ眞意申デアルコトヲ了知サ
レ、俄令獨斷タリト雖我々ハ民族ノ完全ヲ維持シ國家ノ存立ヲ
保固スルコトヲ意フルトハ出来ナイ最善ヲ盡シテ利便ヲ爲ス
ノ遺慮ヲ保全スルコトハ我々カ全力ヲ盡シテ遂行セネハナラヌ義持
テアル、然シ乍ラ戦一度始マレハ總巡官ハ許サレナイ所然レモ
我々ハナラヌコトヲ完了セネハナラナイ、若シ此ノ上更ニ一
寸ノ領土カ失ハレルニ至スナラハ我々ハ我民族ニ對シテ盡シ得イ
ヲ犯スコトト言フヘキタ、斯ノ如キ場合我々ハ國民ノ全力ヲ
傾注シテ外ニ抗爭、最後ノ勝利ヲ期スル一途アルノミタ
此ノ嚴正ナ聲明ニ於テ日本ハ應答事件カ日支兩國ノ一大事ナリ
來スルカ否カヲ決定セネハナラヌ

日支兩國間ニ果タ和平ノ希望カ生カタリトモ認ムシテ勝ルカ何ウカ

一ニ日本軍ノ行動如何ニ懸ツテ居ル、和平ニ對スル一切ノ希望ヲ抛棄スル是後ノ瞬間ニ至ル迄我等ハ依然トシテ正常外交ヲ通シテ事件ノ解決ヲ求メルデアラウ、今國ノ事件ニ付我等ノ態度ハ次ノ四件ニ要約出來ヤウ

一如何ナル解決案モ中國ノ領土完整並ニ主權ヲ侵害スルコトヲ許サス
二警察職務委員官ノ地位ハ中央政府ノ決定スル所ニシテ如何ナル非官法
的變更ヲモ許サス

三警察職務委員官委員長ノ如キ中央政府ノ任命シタル地方官署カ外部ノ壓迫ニ依リ罷免サルコトニ同意スル能ハス

四第二十九號、現在ノ匪亂區域ニ對スル制限ヲモ甘受シ得ス

如何ニ調停タリトモ苟モ國家タル以上右四ヶ條ハ交渉ノ基礎トシテ承認シ得ル最小限度ノ條件デアル、若シ相手方ノ地位ヲ經ハテ我等ノ地位ニ立ツナラハ凡東亞平和ノ維持ヲ愈トシ日支兩國民ヲ四條ノ渦中ニ捲込ミ相互ニ永遠ノ仇敵トナルコトヲ望マヌナラハ右四ヶ條カ前提サルヘキ最少限度ノ條件トナルコトヲ承認スルデアラウ

之ヲ要スルニ今同ノ腐敗極事件ノ厄ニ當リ中央政府ハ中國ノ存立ヲ
確保スヘク開始ニシテ斷乎タル立場ヲ堅持シツツアル中國ハ一獨立
家テアル、我等ハ和平ヲ欲求スル然シ乍ラ如何ナル殘虐ヲ施ツテモ和
平ニ執着スルモノテハナイ、我等ハ國權ヲ欲セス、然シ乍ラ我々ハ我
國自身ヲ協助スルノ已ムナキニ至ルカモ知レス此ノ重大危險ニ當リ
將ハ冷靜目意以テ國民ノ指導ニ當ルテアラウ、國民モ亦應例ナ行ニ
以テ一糸亂レヌ統制ヲ示サネハナラヌ民族ニ對スル義務ノ履行ニ
テハ南北老幼ノ別ナク一盤門結ぶノ統制ヲ示シテ政府ノ指導ニ從フ
様希望スル。

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分、林 哲夫ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ在ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ審カレ六頁ヨリ成ル (昭和十二年七月十九日) トテ、ハ口本反用(外務省)ノ保存ニ係ル公文書ノ正確ニシテ、眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和十二年四月八日

於東京

林

哲夫

P

右号々捺印ハ目分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同所

立會人 清澤 隆 昌